

TĪRTHAṄKARA-PRAKRTI AND THE BODHISATTVA PATH

Among the many technical terms which have similar meanings in Buddhism and Jainism, the terms 'Tīrthaṅkara' (Pali *titthakara*)¹ and 'Buddha' have a particularly large number of common connotations. The term 'tīrthika' (Pali *titthiya*),² although it has been used rather pejoratively by the Buddhists to denote the non-Brahmanical 'heretics', conveys to the Jainas the very same elements that one associates with the terms 'Buddha' or 'Samyak-sambuddha'.³ I shall mention briefly a number of points of similarity between the two terms.

Both 'Buddha' and 'Tīrthaṅkara' are applied only to the Teachers of the respective orders and not to the disciples, and at any given time only one Buddha or Tīrthaṅkara exists in any one *lokadhātu*.⁴ Both Teachers have achieved omniscience (*sarvajñatva*), the Buddha by having removed all *kleśāvaraṇa* and *jñeyāvaraṇa*, and the Tīrthaṅkara by having destroyed the *mohantya* and the *jñānāvaraṇa* karmas.⁵ Although in each religion there is an eternal line of Teachers, each Buddha or Tīrthaṅkara lays the foundation for a new order (called *sāsana* or *tīrtha*), which lasts for a certain number of years and then ends, to be renewed by another teacher in the series. And in each kalpa there are exactly twenty-four Tīrthaṅkaras and twenty-five Buddhas.⁶

The first Buddha and the first Tīrthaṅkara of each age makes a prophecy concerning the identity of the last one. The first Buddha, Dīpaṅkara, prophesied that a Brahman named Sumedha would eventually become the last Buddha, Gautama. Likewise, the first Tīrthaṅkara of our kalpa, Rṣabha, prophesied that his grandson, Marīci, would become the last Tīrthaṅkara, Mahāvīra.⁷ Similar comparisons can be drawn between major occasions in the lives of Gautama the Buddha and Mahāvīra the Tīrthaṅkara: the dreams preceding their conceptions, their births, with gods in attendance; their renunciation, enlightenment, and first sermons; and finally their *nirvāṇas*. Buddhist and Jaina communities celebrate these events in almost identical ways.⁸

The similarities between Buddhist and Jaina conceptions of their Teachers and Founders of orders would suggest that the

path leading to Buddhahood and Tīrthaṅkarahood are equally similar; nevertheless, there must be doctrinal and temperamental differences between the two paths, in as much as Jainism adheres to the doctrine of noninvolvement in the affairs of other souls, while Buddhism lays great stress upon the need to cultivate *mahākaruṇā*, the great compassion, so as to help other beings attain *nirvāṇa*. Consequently there are some major differences between the careers of a follower of a Buddha and a disciple of a Tīrthaṅkara. It is of great interest to the students of religion to examine these similarities and differences.

The path of the Buddha is known as the Bodhisattva path, to distinguish it from the path of arhat. An arhat is said to be the follower of a lower path as he remains content with the role of the disciple and who, although free from all moral impurities (*klesa*), continues to have a residual ignorance. This 'ignorance' is a deficiency which, according to certain Buddhist schools, prevents the arhat from being a Teacher,⁹ the Buddha's omniscience, on the other hand, enables him, indeed compels him to be a Teacher and the founder of a new Order. For the Jainas such a distinction between an arhat and a Tīrthaṅkara is impossible, since omniscience (*kevalajñāna* or *sarvajñatva*) is a prerequisite for the Jaina *nirvāṇa*.¹⁰ In Jainism, therefore, the distinction between an arhat and a Tīrthaṅkara is based not upon the degree of knowledge attained, but on the presence or absence of certain miraculous powers, notably the *divya-dhvani* ('divine sound') which enables certain omniscient beings to be Teachers.¹¹ Not all arhats need to be Teachers; only a few have practiced those virtues which are said to confer upon them the status of a Tīrthaṅkara (by endowing them with *divya-dhvani*) at the time of their first sermon after attaining the arhatship.

Bearing these conditions in mind one can now examine the significant features of these two paths. The prominent feature of the Bodhisattva path is the practice of the six *pāramitās*, viz. *dāna*, *śīla*, *vīrya*, *kṣānti*, *dhyāna*, and *prajñā*. The Bodhisattva traditionally produces the *bodhicitta*, the resolution to become a Buddha, in the presence of a Buddha, as for example, Sumedha, who made his resolution in the time of Dīpaṅkara Buddha. He then receives a prophecy from that Buddha, to the effect that he will become a Buddha at such and such a time. Thereafter he

practices the *pāramitās* for four (to sixteen) *asāṅkhye*yas and one hundred thousand kalpas, serving different Buddhas, until he finally reaches perfection and attains to Buddhahood.¹²

Three major elements stand out in this process. First, the Bodhisattva is fully aware that he wants to become a Buddha. Second, he practices the virtues repeatedly over the course of a number of births. Third, he undertakes each action with the resolution that it should accumulate such karmic forces that it finally will yield as its fruit the attainment of *nirvāṇa* on the part of all beings. Furthermore, the Bodhisattva is constantly aware of his future role as a Teacher.

The career of a would be Tīrthaṅkara basically resembles that of a Bodhisattva, in that he practises virtues which roughly correspond to the six *pāramitās*. The Jainas list sixteen practices (*bhāvanā*) which eventually result in Tīrthaṅkarahood: (1) Purity of insight (*darśana-viśuddhi*); (2) reverence of one's elders; (3) the observance of the vows; (4) the ceaseless pursuit of knowledge; (5) constant fear of *samsāra*; (6) charity (*tyāga*); (7) austerities (*tapas*); (8) removal of obstacles that threaten the equanimity of ascetics; (9) serving the meritorious by warding off evil; (10) devotion to arhats; (11) devotion to one's preceptors; (12) devotion to the learned in scriptures; (13) devotion to the scriptures; (14) the practice of the six essential duties (daily confession of transgressions, etc.); (15) propagation of the teachings of the Tīrthaṅkara; and (16) fervent affection for one's brother in faith.¹³

Although this list is longer than the Buddhist list of the *pāramitās*, it can also be divided into the traditional Buddhist categories of *śīla*, *samādhi*, and *prajñā*. The Jainas emphasize *tyāga* and *darśana-viśuddhi*, just as the Buddhists emphasize *dāna* and *prajñā*, thus stressing the mundane and supermundane aspects of the path. The Jainas do not insist that all sixteen *bhāvanās* must be practised, or that they be practised to the same extent.¹⁴ This would indicate that the list of sixteen is an elaboration of an earlier list, which probably corresponded more closely to the list of six *pāramitās*.

These sixteen *bhāvanās*, severally or collectively, are said to cause the influx of karmic matter which must inevitably lead one to the state of being a Tīrthaṅkara, that is to say, an arhat

who teaches. This karmic matter, therefore, is called *tīrthaṅkara-prakṛti*, karma which yields rebirth as a Tīrthaṅkara.¹⁵

One would expect the Jainas to map out their path in greater detail as did the Buddhists in the Jātakas or in such sūtras as the *Daśabhūmika* or treatises like the *Bodhisattvabhūmi*. Strangely enough, not a single Jaina work deals exclusively with the path of a Tīrthaṅkara. Although Jaina literature is full of didactic stories which extoll the virtues comprising the sixteen *bhāvanās*, they are not set forth as stages of a career culminating in the birth as a Tīrthaṅkara. The Tīrthaṅkara-path seems here to have been subsumed under the path of an arhat, the *mokṣa-mārga* of the Jainas.

One can, however, follow the career of the Tīrthaṅkara by looking at the legendary biographies of various Tīrthaṅkaras in such works as the *Ādipurāṇa*¹⁶ of Jinasena (9th century) or the *Triṣaṭṭīśalākāpuruṣacarita*¹⁷ of Hemacandra (12th century). It is astonishing to find that in no case did the Tīrthaṅkara-to-be ever become aware of having initiated such a career. In other words, there is nothing in Jainism comparable to the idea of the *bodhicittotpāda*, the bedrock upon which the entire career of the Bodhisattva was founded. According to the Jainas the karmic forces called *tīrthaṅkara-prakṛti* become attracted to the soul of the Tīrthaṅkara-to-be at a specific time when one of the virtues, probably charity or protection of ascetics, reaches its perfection. There is no conscious effort or resolution on the part of this soul to become a Tīrthaṅkara, nor is there any awareness that such karmas have been attracted determining his future status as Tīrthaṅkara. This can probably be explained on the grounds that any such wish to become a Tīrthaṅkara would itself constitute an unwholesome act and would render his virtues impure. The Jainas have maintained that the bartering (called *nidāna*) of one's virtuous deeds for the attainment of supernatural powers or rebirths in heaven, not to speak of Tīrthaṅkarahood, is the greatest obstacle on the path of salvation.¹⁸ It is, therefore, understandable that while a Jaina devotee, either lay or mendicant, might wish to lead a pure life and perfect his virtues, he would not entertain the thought that he might attain an exalted status, such as that of an arhat or a Tīrthaṅkara. One becomes a Tīrthaṅkara quite unawares, and that fact, in itself, is considered the perfect proof of one's saintliness.

This is a major departure from the Buddhist point of view, and it explains the absence of a Jaina-bodhisattva path, since there can be no starting point like the moment of *bodhicittotpāda*.¹⁹ Another important distinguishing feature is the element of the time required to become a Tīrthaṅkara. While the Buddhists tend to lengthen the period into many kalpas and countless births, the Jaina legends concerning the Tīrthaṅkaras consistently mention no more than a single intermediate lifetime between the birth during which the *tīrthaṅkara-prakṛti* was attracted and the (final) incarnation as a Tīrthaṅkara.²⁰ This would be too short a time if the Tīrthaṅkara-to-be were required to practice the perfections in the Buddhist manner. The intervening birth is usually in a heaven²¹ from where the soul descends into the womb of his human mother and is immediately endowed with a body suitable to a Tīrthaṅkara-to-be. He then becomes recipient of the various honours (e.g. the celebration of the *kalyāṇas*) eventually attaining to *kevalajñāna* at which time the *divya-dhvani* will emanate from his person and he will be recognized by all as a new Tīrthaṅkara, the founder of a new *tīrtha*.

BERKELEY

PADMANABH S. JAINI

Notes

1 The original meaning of the term, 'the founder of a sect', is well preserved in the following passage of the *Sāmaññaphalasutta: ayam, deva, Pūraṇo Kassapo saṅghī c' eva gaṇī ca gaṇācariyo ca nāto yassasi tīthakaro sādhusammato bahujanassa rattaññū cirapabbajito addhagato vayo anuppatto*, D I 48 foll. It should be noted that Makkhali Gosāla, Ajita Kesakambali, Pakudha Kaccāyana, Sañjaya Belatthiputta, and Niganṭha Nāṭaputta, the contemporary śramaṇa leaders of Gautama Buddha, are also described in an identical manner in that sutta.

The Jainas take the term *tīrtha* to mean the scriptures: *tīrthakṛtaḥ samsārottaraṇahetubhūtavat tīrtham iva tīrtham āgamaḥ tat kṛtavataḥ* (Quoted in Jinendra Varni, *Jainendra-siddhānta-kośa*, Delhi 1971, II, p. 372).

2 Edgerton quotes the following use of *tīrthika* as an exception: *tīrthikā vā bhavanti bhavaśūdanāḥ* (Mvu I 106,8) where the term *tīrthika* is said to refer to the Bodhisattva in the eighth *bhūmi* (F. Edgerton, *BHSD*, p. 254).

3 Compare, for example, the *Śakrastava* addressed to the liberated souls: *namo 'tthu arihantāṇam bhagavantāṇam āgarāṇam titthayarāṇam sayāṇsambuddhāṇam savvadarīśāṇam . . . namo jināṇam jiyabhayāṇam* (Quoted in R. Williams, *Jaina Yoga*, London 1963, p. 193).

4 The Jainas divide the abode of human beings into the realm of enjoyment (*bhogabhūmi*) and the realm of spiritual activity (*karmabhūmi*) and contend that the Tīrthaṅkaras are to be found only during the third and fourth (out of a total of six) stages of the temporal half-cycles known as *utsarpīṇī* (progressive) and *avasarpīṇī* (regressive). Only one Tīrthaṅkara may appear in a given *karmabhūmi* at one time. They also believe that there are certain *karmabhūmis* (known as *Videha-kṣetras*) which are free from such temporal changes and hence Tīrthaṅkaras are to be found there at all times. For details, see W. Schubring, *The Doctrine of the Jainas*, Delhi 1962, § 12-15; § 120. The Theravādins, on the other hand, believe that the Buddhas are born only in the Jambudīpa and hence discount the possibility of a Buddha currently living anywhere in the Universe. See G.P. Malalasekera, *DPPN*, II, 298. The Northern Buddhists seem to disagree on the precise meaning of the term *lokadhātu*. The Vaibhāṣikas seem to favour the view that only one Buddha can appear in the entire universe at one time, whereas the Mahāsāṅghikas maintain that many Buddhas can appear simultaneously in different world systems: *sūtra uktam—'asthānam anavakāśo yad apūrvācaramau dvau Tathāgatāv arhantau samyaksambuddhau loka utpadyeyatām. nedam sthānam vidyate. sthānam etad vidyate yad ekas Tathāgataḥ. . . idam atra sampradhāryam—kim atra trisāḥsramahāsāhasro lokadhātūr loka iṣṭāḥ, utāḥo sarvalokadhātava iti? nānyatra Buddhā utpadyanta ity eke. . . sānty evānyalokadhātuṣu Buddhā iti nikāyāntarīyāḥ* (Abhidharmaśāśvya, (ed. P. Pradhan) Patna 1967, III, 96).

5 For a comparison between the Buddhist and the Jaina theories of omniscience, see P.S. Jaini, 'On the sarvajñatva (omniscience) of Mahāvīra and the Buddha,' in *Buddhist Studies in Honour of I.B. Horner*, Dordrecht 1974, pp. 71-90.

6 The following verses list the names of the twenty-four Tīrthankaras of the present *avasarpīṇī* in the Bharata-kṣetra of the Jambudīpa:

Usabham Ajiyam ca vande Sambhavam Abhinandanam ca Sumaim ca Paumappaham Supāsam jinam ca Candappaham vande. Suvilum ca Pupphadantam Sīyala-Sejjānsa-Vasupujjam ca Vimalam Anantam ca jinam Dhammarām Santim ca vandāmi. Kunthum Aram ca Mallim vande Munisuvvayam Nami-jinam ca vandāmi Rītthanemim Pāsam taha Vaddhamāṇam ca. evam mae abhithuā vihūya-raja-mala pahīna-jara-marāṇā cauviśam pi jinavarā titthayarā me pasīyantu.

(Quoted in R. Williams, *Jaina Yoga*, p. 195). For a list of the twenty-five Buddhas of the Theravāda tradition, see Ja I 44. The Northern

tradition seems to have expanded on this list, as can be seen from the *Lalitavistara* which enumerates fifty-four Buddhas, and the *Mahāvastu* which lists more than a hundred Buddhas under whom the Bodhisattva is said to have attained the different *bhūmis* of his career.

7 It should be noted, however, that the prophecy regarding Marīci was made by Rṣabha in response to a question from Bharata (the first Cakravartin, the eldest son of Rṣabha) and also that Marīci became puffed up with pride and fell away from the true path; he is credited by the Jainas with founding the Sāṅkhya heresy:

atra kiṁ kaścid apy asti, bhagavān, bhagavān iva,
tīrtham pravṛtya Bharataśetram yaḥ pāvayiṣyati.
śāśāṁsa bhagavān evaṁ, ya eṣa tava nandanaḥ,
Marīcīr nāmadheyena, parivrajaka ādimah. . .
cīraṁ ca samsṛtya bhave, bhaviṣyaty atra Bhārata,
ayaṁ nāmnā Mahāvīraś caturvīṁśas tu tīrthakṛt.

(*Triṣaṭiśalākāpuruṣacarita* (of Hemacandra), I, vi, 372–379 (Bhavanagar 1933)).

8 For a description of the ceremony attending these sacred events known as the *pañca-kalyāṇakas* (*garbha-janma-dīkṣā-kevalajñānamokṣa-kalyāṇa*), see P.S. Jaini, *The Jaina Path of Purification*, Berkeley 1979, pp. 195 foll.

9 This is a view of the Vaibhāṣika school: *ajñānam hi bhūtārthadarśana-pratibandhād andhakāraṁ, tac ca bhagavato Buddhasya pratipakṣalābhēnātyantam sarvathā sarvatra jñeye punar anutpattidharmatād hatam; ato 'sau sarvathā-sarvahatāndhakārah. pratyekabuddhaśrāvakaḥ api kāmam sarvatra hatāndhakārah, kliṣṭasamohātyantavīgamāt, na tu sarvathā; tathā hy eṣāṁ buddhadharmeṣī ativiprakṛṣṭadeśakāleṣu cārtheṣu cāñcāntaprabhedeṣu bhavaty evākliṣṭam ajñānam* (*Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*, I, 1).

10 *mokṣaprāptih kevalajñānapūrviketi kevalajñānōtpattikāraṇam ucyate: mohakṣayāj jñānarāśanāvaraṇāntarāyakṣayāc ca kevalam/ bandhahetvahāvanirjarābhyaṁ kṛtsnakarmavipramokṣo mokṣaḥ/* (*Sarvārthaśiddhi* (*Bhāṣya* on the *Tattvārthaśūtra*), X, 1–2).

11 The Tīrthaṅkara is believed to speak in a human language that is 'divine' in the sense that men of all regions can understand it in their own languages: *Tīrthakarasya . . . samudbhūto divyadhvaniḥ . . . yojanāntaradūrasamīpapasthāṣṭādaśa-bhāṣā-saptaśatakuḥbhāṣyutatiryagdevamanuṣyabhaṣākārāṇyūnādhikabhaṭṭīta-madhuramanoharagambhīravīśadavāgatīśayasampannah . . . Mahāvīro 'rthakartā* (Quoted in Jinendra Varni, *Jainendra-siddhānta-kośa*, II, p. 430).

12 For details, see G.P. Malalasekera, *DPPN*, II, 324.

13 *yad idam tīrthakarānāmakarmānantānupamaprabhāvam acintyavibhūtivisēśa-kāraṇam trailokyavijayakāraṇam tasyāsravavidhivīše 'stī? yady evam ucyatām ke tasyāsravāḥ. ity ata idam ārabhyate-darśanavīśuddhir vinayasampannata*

śīlavrateṣy anaticārō 'bhīkṣṇajñānopayogasamvegau śaktis tyāgatapastī sādhusamādhir vaiyāvṛtyakaranam arhadācāryabahuś-rutapravacanabhaṭkīr āvāyakāparīhāṇīr mārgaprabhāvāna pravacanavatsalatvam iti tīrthakaravasya/ (*Sarvārthaśiddhi*, VI, 24). For a longer list containing twenty items, see *Triṣaṭiśalākāpuruṣacarita*, I, i, 882–903.

14 *apy ekam tīrthakṛṇ-nāmakarmano bandhakāraṇam, madhyād ebhyāḥ sa bhagavān, sarvair api babandha tat.* *Ibid*, I, i, 903. Compare also: *etāni sodaśakāraṇāni samyag bhāvayamānāni vyastāni ca tīrthakarānāmakarmāśravakāraṇāni pratyetavyāni* (*Sarvārthaśiddhi*, VI, 24).

15 The *tīrthaṅkara-prakṛti* is included in a category of karmic matter known as *nāma-karma* (i.e. that by which a designation, e.g. man, animal, god, etc. is given to a being in a particular existence). By virtue of this *prakṛti* a Tīrthaṅkara-to-be is born with a body suitable for a Teacher, worthy of the *garbha* and the other *kalyāṇakas*, endowed with the power of *divya-dhvani* which manifests at the moment of his first sermon: *jassa kammudayēṇa tīvo pamcamahākallāṇāni pāvidūṇa tittham duvālaśaṅgam kuṇadi tam titthayaranāmāṇi* (Quoted in Jinendra Varni, *Jainendra-siddhānta-kośa*, II, p. 373).

16 *Ādipurāṇa of Jinasena*, pts. 1–2, Sanskrit text with Hindi tr. Pannalal Jain, Varanasi 1963–65.

17 *Triṣaṭiśalākāpuruṣacarita* of Hemacandra, tr. by Helen M. Johnson as *The Lives of Sixty-three Illustrious Persons*, 6 vols. Baroda (Oriental Institute) 1962.

18 *Nidāna* seems to be a Jaina technical term meaning an unbecoming wish on the part of an aspirant. When intense, such a wish is considered to be a form of *ārta-dhyāṇa* ('painful meditation'). Jainas assert that even a wish to be reborn as an ācārya (spiritual leader of the mendicant order) or as a Tīrthaṅkara (i.e. a Jina) in return for one's austerities, etc., is sinful, since such a wish demonstrates a residual lust for power and pride in oneself: *bhogakāmīkṣāturasyānā-gatavīṣayaprāptīn prati manāḥprāṇidhāṇāṁ saṅkalpaś cintā-prabandhas turīyam ārtam nidānam ucyate.* *Sarvārthaśiddhi*, IX, 33. See also:

māneṇa jāikularūvamādi āiriya-ganadhara-jīṇattam, sobhaggāṇādeyam pathhanto appasattham tu.

(Quoted in Jinendra Varni, *Jainendra-siddhānta-kośa*, II, p. 607).

19 The Jainas use the term 'bodhi' to indicate the initial attainments of the Right faith, Right knowledge, and Right conduct (*samyagdarśana-jñāna-cāritrānām aprāptaprāpanam bodhiḥ*. Quoted in Jinendra Varni, *Jainendra-siddhānta-kośa*, III, p. 196). This places a Jaina aspirant on the stage called *samyag-drṣṭi*, functionally corresponding to the *bhāvanā-mārga* or the *sotāpatti-magga* of the Buddhists. The term 'bodhisattva', however, is conspicuously absent

from the Jaina lexicon. The parallel between the Jaina and the Buddhist paths was however noticed by one Jaina author, namely the celebrated Haribhadrasūri, the eighth century author of the *Yogabindu*. Haribhadra, rather boldly, asserts that the Jaina *samyagdrṣṭi* can be called a 'bodhisattva' as the former has 'all the characteristics of the latter': 'Like the Bodhisattva (as held by the Buddhists), the *samyag-drṣṭi* also may never commit a volitionally inspired evil act, will aspire to do good to others, and will become endowed with the "supreme bodhi", or attain to the status of a Tīrthaṅkara.'

ayam asyām avasthāyām bodhisattvo 'bhidhīyate,
anyais tal lakṣaṇam yasmāt sarvam asyopapadyate.
kāyapātina eveha bodhisattvāḥ paroditam,
na cittapātinas tāvad etad atrāpi yuktimat.
parārtharasiko dhīmān mārgagāmī mahāśayah,
guṇarāgī tathety ādi sarvam tulyam dvayor api.
yat samyagdarśanam bodhis tat pradhāno mahodayah,
satvō 'stu bodhisattvas tadd hantaiṣo 'nvarthato 'pi hi.
varabodhisameto vā tīrthakrd yo bhavisyati,
tathā bhavyatvato 'sau vā bodhisattvāḥ satām mataḥ.

(*The Yogabindu of Ācārya Haribhadrasūri*, (ed. K.K. Dixit), Ahmedabad 1968, 270-74). Notwithstanding the similarities noted above, Haribhadra's comments should not be taken literally. A bodhisattva is destined to be a Buddha whereas a *samyagdrṣṭi* may or may not become a Tīrthaṅkara; the fact that most of the *samyagdrṣṭis* end their careers as ordinary (i.e. non-Teacher) arhats, albeit with omniscience, underlines the basic difference between the two careers.

20 Compare, for example, the story of king Nandana (Mahāvīra's soul in a previous birth) who renounced his kingdom, became a Jaina monk, practised severe austerities, attracted the *tīrthaṅkara-prakṛti*, and was reborn in the Prāṇata heaven. From there he was reborn, in his final incarnation, as Vardhamāna Mahāvīra. See *Trisaṭṭisalākā-purusacarita*, X, i, 217-84. As a matter of fact, the Jainas have made a rule that one must become a Tīrthaṅkara in the second birth after being 'bound by' the *tīrthaṅkara-prakṛti*: *pāraddhatitthayarabandhabhavādo tadiyabhavet titthayarasantakammiyajīvāṇam mokkhagamanāṇiyamādo* (Quoted in Jinendra Varni, *Jainendra-siddhāntakośa*, II, p. 371).

21 Although all the twenty-four Tīrthaṅkaras of the present cycle have descended from heaven (as did Gautama from the Tuṣita heaven), the Jainas believe that certain souls may come from purgatories (*narakas*) and be born as Tīrthaṅkaras. King Śreṇika Bimbisāra of Magadha is said to fall in this category. He was a great devotee of Mahāvīra and had by his devotion attracted the *tīrthaṅkara-prakṛti*, but he committed suicide and was born in the first *naraka*. It is believed that he will be reborn as the first Tīrthaṅkara of the next kalpa. See *ibid.*, IV, p. 71.

In his *Early History of Buddhism in Ceylon* (2nd ed., Colombo, 1953, pp. 94-5) E.W. Adikaram wrote: 'When Fa Hien left Ceylon he took with him a copy of the Vinaya Piṭaka of the Mahīśāsaka School, the Dīrghāgama and the Samyuktāgama (sūtras) and also the Samyuktasañchaya-piṭaka, all written in Sanskrit.' In a recent article K.R. Norman has pointed out that the word *fan*, as used by Fa-hsien himself, means 'Indian (language)' and that without further evidence there is no way of saying whether the language was Skt, Pkt, or Pali.¹ The only further evidence available is to be found in the Chinese translations of the Indian texts which Fa-hsien brought back to China.

The dates of the birth and death of Fa-hsien are not known; and although he himself wrote an account of his travels, their exact chronology cannot be established (Demiéville, 1953, pp. 402-3). According to his account he remained in Ceylon for two years (Legge, p. 111; Giles, 1923, p. 76), probably in the years 410-11. During his stay he obtained copies of the *Vinaya* of the *Mahīśāsakas*, the *Dīrghāgama*, the *Samyuktāgama* and the 'Miscellaneous piṭaka' (*tsa-tsang*, T.2085, p. 865c24-25).

Of these four texts the *Tsa-tsang* was translated by Fa-hsien himself (T.745). According to the oldest existing catalogue of Chinese translations, the *Ch'u san-tsang chi chi* (T.2145, p.12a2), compiled by Seng-yu († 518) at the beginning of the sixth century, the title is 'Miscellaneous piṭaka sūtra' (*tsa-tsang ching*). It is published under this title in the Taishō edition of the Chinese canon, but it is probable that *ching* is a later addition. It is not possible to know the Sanskrit title. Different Sanskrit titles have been reconstructed as *Samyuktasañcayapiṭaka* (Legge), *Samyukta-piṭaka* (Nanjo, no. 676; Kolmaś, p. 95) and *Kṣudrakasūtra* (*Répertoire du canon bouddhique sino-japonais*, Paris-Tōkyō, 1978, p. 72). *Tsa* is used to render both *saṃyukta* and *kṣudraka* and it is possible that this text is a part of a *Kṣudrakapiṭaka*.²

The *Tsa-tsang ching* occupies less than four pages in the Taishō edition (vol. 17, pp. 557b-560b). The first part tells how Maudgalyāyana sees five hundred pretas on the bank of the